000 most important food plants and their significance. The groundnut (varieties, cultivation, pests, medicines, uses), maize. Ngon (description, varieties, importance, origin of the name, cultivation, harvest, drying, pests, medicines, uses). Yams, cassava, sugar cane, taro, and macabo (description, varieties, cultivation, uses). Plantain and banana. Additional cultivated plants.

Second Part. Livestock. Dogs, appearance, importance for the Pangwe, their names; goat and sheep, castration of the goats (manner of castration, purpose); the hen and its importance; the duck; other tame domestic animals.

Third Part. Fishing. Abundance of fish, survey of the fish world of the Pangwe region, the catching of fish (general matters, chief seasons), method: driving the fish, angling, fish poison, scaffolding weir, basket weirs, basket trap, catch baskets, fish channels, fishing nets.

Fourth Part. Trapping. Pitfalls, spring traps, spring plates, spear trap, snares, draw traps, francolin trap, bow traps, alarm trap.

Fifth Part. Hunting. General matters, drives with baskets and nets, division of the meat, accidents, individual hunting expeditions with rifle and crossbow. Crossbow (origin, description, arrows).

I. Agriculture

● 433 The economic activities of the Pangwe are agriculture, catching fish, and trapping; in comparison with these, hunting and stock keeping play a subordinate role.

Another

fertility medicine consists of the following mixture: 1) bark of the Simarubacea Irvingia barteri Hook. f. (andók; 2) bark bark of the Anacardiacea Pseudospondias microcarpa (Rich.) Engl. (ofón): 3) elephant manure; 4) sand from the Campo or the Uelle; 5) salt. On the eve of sowing this mixture is added to the nuts. This, too, must be understood as a direct transfer of power: the groundnuts are to be as numerous as the fruits of the two plants named; they are to become as enormous as the pile of elephant manure; as numerous as sand in the Campo -- we would say, as the sands of the ocean; and as innumerable as the grains of salt. Finally, certain Liliaceae (ayón) are planted between the groundnuts so that their leaves may become as green as the lillies in the field. As can be seen, there is no lack of friendly encouragement and good examples.

The fruit, illustrated in cross-section by Plate 6, Drawings a and b, usually has two seeds, more rarely three, and still more rarely one. Something reminiscent of our love feast occurs when a boy at work finds a fruit with three seeds in his mother's basket or in the field, calls his friends, and shares the seeds with them. This is called euphemistically: bi ki kábád, "we dissect a goat." Thus, we have here the doctrine: Do not forget to do good and to share with your fellow man when you are living in abundance! It is probably more by way of a game that the Pangwe, especially the children, sometimes eat the nuts raw. Otherwise raw nuts are prepared principally for soup or compote. It is also customary to boil the whole fruit and then eat the seeds. The nuts are stored in large, tall baskets of raffia pith, which are hung under the roof or placed on a bed, or the nuts may be placed loose on the groundnut loft, akán owúnó.

As a result of their laziness and indifference, the Pangwe seldom have enough groundnuts, so there is always a period of time when they have to do without them until the next harvest has been brought in and is sufficiently dried. This is the reason that in the Ntum and Fang regions at these times the price for a "plate" (2)

2. The flat plate-shaped baskets called bush plates are a unit of measurement.

Fig. 52. Plantation of Groundnuts and Maize near Bélwi (Eseng Family), Southern Cameroons.

of groundnuts rises to ten spears (equal to 70 pfennigs) while at other times only five spears (equal to 35 pfennigs) are given for it. In the Jaunde region, it is true, a plate always costs 70 pfennigs (equal to 100 Jaunde spears). The groundnut is eaten simply as soup or compote. /92/ /Fig. 52 appears here in the original text./ The oil content of the nuts is not utilized to any great extent, but the oil released by cooking is rubbed on the skin in order not to waste it. Finally we might mention the riddle:

onṓn	o	nga	bḗī	a	fā́	e
(A) bird,	it	lives	give birth to	behind	the house	of the
bonī́ḗ:	akī́	avṓk	a	kŏke	bŏ̄n	avū́m
mothers:	egg	one;	there	creep out	young ones	ten.

Answer: owŭno = groundnut.

Maize, Zea mays L. (fū́n IV), as we have said, is almost always grown with the groundnut (Fig. 52), usually as a means of marking off the individual plots and as a border against the bush all around the plantation. Farms that grow maize

162 was explored and then occupied only at a late date. These condi-
361 tions delayed "contaminations" and permitted the maintenance of a certain unity. It now has a viable economic structure, thanks to its cacao production, which has finally created a true peasant state. [79]

1. Bitam and Minvoul Districts

These two districts are wedged between the Cameroons to the north, Spanish Guinea to the west, and a true "no man's land" to the east. The inhabitants, numbering 27,500, are the most active
[133 and prosperous elements(producing three quarters of the cacao
511] grown in the region) on the roads serving the Cameroons and the center of Oyem. They have built modernized villages "tied" to the cacao plantations. Their inhabitants belong to groupings found in the Cameroons and in Spanish Guinea, and some of the villagers have relatives in one or the other territory — like so many links favoring traffic in "merchandise" and ideas.

619 According to the census of 1936, the only detailed document,
619 27 clans or tribal fragments (clans that have maintained the tribal
[162] name) are now there. The most numerous clan is that of the Effak (Yénzɔk tribe), (1) which has more than 15 percent of the population,

1. We give the tribal dependencies with all reservation. The near ignorance and "cheating" allied to the movement of clan regroupment render all certainty impossible, except when we have access to early documents, more particularly to a mention in the notes of Monsignor Martrou, which were kindly lent to us at the Libreville Mission.

followed by that of the Eba (Yémisɛm tribe), which has 10 percent. The other groups may go down to a few tens of individuals. In this region are found the following tribes (ayog): Yénzɔk, Yémvɔ̂g, Yémisɛm. These are the most important in the Cameroons in the

619 Ebolowa and Sangmélima regions (2). The whole of Upper Woleu-
619

2. Documents relating to "ethnic groupings," Administrative Archives of Ebolowa.

N'Tem is oriented toward the Camerooons with which it has not
[439] only economic ties (it exports its cacao there and imports its goods) but also political ties (which explains why it served to relay the directives and their implementations that appeared in this territory).

2. Oyem District

162 This district, with 30,000 inhabitants, has a long frontier with
361 Spanish Guinea, and is crossed by the Woleu River, an important
439 means of access to this possession. The major part of the population (more than two thirds) is "stuck" to the frontier. This is understood because related groups exist on each side of the frontier; [80] [Fig. 1] [81] Guinea has always exerted an economic attraction (it is the center of trade and exchange of labor which is much
[453 in demand), she serves occasionally as a place of refuge. The vil-
511] lagers are fairly well-to-do because of the cacao cultivation (one fourth of the Woleu-N'Tem production) and because of the trade with Guinea (peanuts, coffee, palmetto). This is shown particularly by an improvement in housing.

162 Kyé-Nyé Canton, a meeting place of two migratory streams
619 coming from the Lower Cameroons, contains by itself nearly
619 12,000 inhabitants who again are distributed by clans (Fig. 1). The dominant groupings are the Esèngi (Yémvôg tribe), who account for more than 40 percent, the Kojé for about 25 percent, and the Yéngwi for over 15 percent. In the canton of Woleu, the villages of the Okip tribe are dominant, accounting for 33 percent of the population. Then the Bökwé (Ndôg tribe) account for about 12 percent, and the Esamökos (Yéngól tribe) (1) for more than 10

1. Only confirmed by the notes of L. Martrou.

in 1954 in connection with a study of family budgets.

amount of food necessary to maintain the population; a crop census was taken in 1948 in one of the Sangmélima cantons (2). In order to

2. Report of the administrative officer, J. M. Soupault. An average individual's requirement would be: 250 maize plants, 330 manioc plants, 130 plantains, 110 macabo, 7 kilograms of rice, and 32 kilograms of groundnuts.

satisfy the needs of 6, 249 inhabitants there is no "exportation" to speak of. The canton used to produce 1, 635, 000 maize plants, 2, 049, 000 manioc, 824, 190 plantain bananas, 687, 800 macabo. It furthermore provided 44 tons of rice, 200 tons of groundnuts. There were 85, 180 fruit trees producing various kinds of fruit (Pachylobes /Canarium edule Hooker, known as asa in Pahouin country—Ed./, Estulia, oranges, etc.)

Clearing land by burning and the absence of organic fertilizer probably explain the exhaustion of the soil and the shifting cultivation that results from it.

The breeding and rearing of small animals is nevertheless understood and practiced: goats, dogs, fowls, pigs were and still are plentiful in the villages. These animals do not seem to contribute much to the food supply nor to the economic life. The very limited practice of selling pieces of pork has dates from recent years. As a matter of fact, animals were useful for giving quasi-ritual presents, for paying bride prices, and for celebrating family occasions: at a marriage, burial, and the end of mourning, two or three goats were killed to provide food for the relatives.

Of course, these animals are not stabled or fed; the herds wander along the outskirts of villages and do not fail to plunder the gardens. There are innumerable classic quarrels between farmers and herders (with the slight difference here that no one is exclusively a herder nor exclusively a farmer). Was the practice of enclosing by hedges established so as to avoid such depredations, or to give military protection to the settlements? Whatever the origin, this practice associated with the raising of animals would have made it possible to avoid

245 distribution of cacao plantations is neither the only nor perhaps the
[511 principal cause of inequality. Cacao production is on a considerable
554] scale: around 50, 000 tons in the Cameroons, 3, 000 tons in Gabon(4).

[433]

4. Almost the whole of the Gabon output comes from the Woleu-N'Tem region and especially the Ntoumou cantons. (P. A.)

It is easy to understand that this crop is an essential factor in the
182 evolution /sic/ of Pahouin society.

245 In the field of common law, for example, cacao has affected the orientation of land law. By giving each person the possibility of making /33/ private profits, cacao has increased the independence of men and even of women from family authority. Because it allows the accumulation of durable and tranferable goods, cacao has raised, in a new form, the problem of successional devolution /inheritance/.

To consider only the realm of technology: settling on the land during several generations has apparently put an end to real nomadism; villages are no longer moved about. But a certain amount of shifting cultivation will remain inevitable if some method of rapid reclamation of fallow land is not adopted.

245 The stock of tools has increased considerably. An axe with a small,
42 narrow head ending in a tongue was fastened into the large end of a wooden handle, a daba similarly made but with a rounder head and lighter handle (1) and a machete were formerly the basic implements.

[284]

1. The tongue of the hoe, driven into a branch like a spike, is also bound to it with liana. Old women still use the digging stick, which has or had some ritual significance. (P. A.)

To these must now be added pruning shears, caterpillar destroyer or a local copy, and cacao spear.

245 Boxes or baskets provide vats for fermenting the /cacao/ beans, a roof shades the trays on which they are put to dry. Some men have thought of buying Vermorel vaporizers for spraying the cacao trees; others dream of mowing machines for clearing the land.